

Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ADP-00 EURE-00 NSC-10 NSCE-00 CIAE-00

INR-10 NSAE-00 RSC-01 L-02 PM-03 DODE-00 PRS-01 RSR-01

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6496

INFO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY PARIS

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USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

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S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 03 BONN 10595

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: X-GDS-1

TAGS: PFOR, US, EC, NATO

SUBJECT: US/EUROPEAN RELATIONS: FRG VIEWS ON JULY 23

EC-NINE FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING IN COPENHAGEN.

REF: A. COPENHAGEN 1685; B. COPENHAGEN 1690

SUMMARY: FONOFF SOURCES TELL US THEY CONSIDER THAT
JULY 23 MEETING OF FOREIGN MINISTERS REPRESENTS A
SMALL STEP FORWARD IN EC-NINE DIALOGUE CONCERNING
US/EUROPEAN RELATIONS. OUR SOURCES PROFESS TO BE
MILDLY OPTIMISTIC THAT FORTHCOMING DISCUSSION
POLITICAL COMMITTEE (10:) AND IT WILL RESULT IN
DRAFT COMMUNIQUE FOR MEETINGS WHICH PRESIDENT WILL
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HAVE WITH EEC AND NATO AND THAT DIALOGUE OVER

"EUROPEAN IDENTITY" AND US/EUROPEAN RELATIONS WILL CONTINUE THEREAFTER. WHILE ACKNOWLEDGING THAT THIS REPRESENTS TRIMMING OF EARLIER GOALS, BONN IS RELIEVED THAT THE FRENCH PRESENTLY ARE PREPARED TO GO EVEN THIS FAR. OUR SOURCES ALSO NOTE THAT POSSIBILITY OF DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES REMAINS ALIVE FOR PERIOD AFTER PRESIDENT'S VISIT. END SUMMARY.

1. AUTHORITATIVE FOREIGN OFFICE SOURCES HAVE SUMMARIZED THE JULY 23 FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING ALONG THE LINES OF REFTEL REPORTS. THEY NOTED THAT PC WAS INSTRUCTED TO START WORK FORTHWITH ON BOTH SHORT TERM AND LONG TERM IMPLICATIONS OF US/EUROPEAN RELATIONS; WHILE, AT FRENCH INSISTENCE, THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT WAS NOT MENTIONED IN FOREIGN MINISTER ANDERSON'S STATEMENT (REF A), A REFERENCE TO "SHORTER TERM SUBJECTS" WAS MEANT TO IMPLY CONNECTION WITH PRESIDENT NIXON'S VISIT TO EUROPE.

2. OUR SOURCES NOTED THAT ANDERSON'S STATEMENT FOCUSED MORE ON "EUROPEAN IDENTITY" THAN RELATIONS BETWEEN EUROPE AND THE US. THIS APPROACH REFLECTED JOBERT'S STRONG VIEW THAT EC-NINE WERE ENGAGED ESSENTIALLY IN LONG TERM DIALOGUE AIMED AT DEFINING EUROPEAN IDENTITY AND THAT THIS IMPORTANT PROCESS COULD NOT BE DISTURBED OR UNDULY ACCELERATED.

3. ACCORDING TO OUR SOURCES, JOBERT BEGAN HIS PRESENTATION BY REPORTING ON HIS TALKS WITH THE PRESIDENT AND DR. KISSINGER IN SAN CLEMENTE. HE SAID THE US WISHED TO OBTAIN AN ATLANTIC DECLARATION WHICH COULD BE ISSUED, IF POSSIBLE IN CONNECTION WITH THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT TO EUROPE, AND OTHERWISE BY THE END OF THE YEAR. HE SAID THE AMERICANS DESIRED A SUMMIT OF THE NATO FIFTEEN PLUS IRELAND AND THAT THE DECLARATION SHOULD MAKE CLEAR THE PRIORITY IMPORTANCE OF ATLANTIC RELATIONS AND THUS RE-ESTABLISH FOR PUBLIC OPINION THE BALANCE BETWEEN THE ALLIANCE AND DETENTE POLICY. JOBERT SAID HE COULD WELL UNDERSTAND THAT THIS APPROACH WOULD BE IN THE AMERICAN INTEREST. JOBERT SAID THE
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AMERICANS REMINDED HIM OF A BOYHOOD STORY ABOUT "A FIREMAN PYROMANIAC" WHO WENT AROUND STARTING FIRES---THE US/SOVIET NUCLEAR PACT---AND THEREAFTER HAD THE PLEASURE, ALONG WITH THEIR FRIENDS (THE ALLIES) OF PUTTING THEM OUT. JOBERT SAID THIS AMERICAN APPROACH WAS NOT IN THE EUROPEAN INTEREST, ARTIFICIAL "TIME PRESSURES" WOULD BE UNACCEPTABLE AND A DEFINITION OF THE "EUROPEAN IDENTITY IN ALL DIRECTIONS"--HE USED

THE TERM A "TOUS AZIMUTHS"--COULD NOT BE RESOLVED BY
THE TIME OF THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT; RATHER, THE
EUROPEANS WOULD HAVE TO FIX THEIR OWN GOALS AND TIME
CONCEPTS AND THIS DISCUSSION WAS JUST GETTING UNDERWAY.

4. IN REPLY, SCHEEL AND DOUGLAS-HOME CONFIRMED THE
US DESIDERATA DESCRIBED BY JOBERT BUT ARGUED THAT
IT WAS VERY MUCH IN THE EUROPEAN INTEREST TO NAIL DOWN

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INFO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

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THE PRIORITY US COMMITMENT TO THE ALLIANCE. THE UK
AND FRG MINISTERS SAID THERE WAS A CORRESPONDENCE OF
INTEREST BETWEEN THE US AND WESTERN EUROPE AND URGED
AN EXPEDITIOUS EUROPEAN REPLY. WHILE NOT AGREEING,

JOBERT DID EXPRESS A READINESS TO HAVE THE PC CONSIDER "SUBJECTS THAT COULD USEFULLY BE TAKEN UP IN THE SHORTER TERM", INCLUDING "A POLITICAL EVALUATION OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE US AND EUROPE IN THEIR ENTIRETY". AS A RESULT OF THIS EXCHANGE, OUR SOURCES SAY THE MINISTERS AGREED ON TWO THINGS: (A) THE NIXON VISIT WOULD BE AN IMPORTANT PART BUT NOT AN END GOAL OF THE US/EUROPEAN CONSTRUCTIVE DIALOGUE; AND (B) THE EUROPEANS WOULD SEEK TO AGREE ON COMMON POLICIES AND TO ESTABLISH AN OVERALL EUROPEAN IDENTITY BUT THESE SECRET

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EFFORTS SHOULD NOT BE PERCEIVED IN THE FIRST LIGHT IN THE CONTEXT OF THE NIXON VISIT.

5. FOLLOWING THE COPENHAGEN MEETING, OUR SOURCES PROFESSED TO BE MILDLY OPTIMISTIC THAT UPCOMING DISCUSSIONS OF EC-NINE GROUP OF CORRESPONDENTS WILL PRODUCE DRAFT TEXTS FOR CONSIDERATION SEPT 4-5 BY POLITICAL DIRECTORS AND SEPT 10-11 BY FOREIGN MINISTERS IN COPENHAGEN. THESE TEXTS WOULD, SAY OUR SOURCES, TAKE THE FORM OF COMMUNIQUEES THAT COULD BE ISSUED FOLLOWING THE PRESIDENT'S PLANNED MEETINGS WITH NATO AND EEC. TO EMBOFF'S QUESTION, FONOFF SOURCES SAID EC-NINE NOW IS THINKING IN TERMS OF TWO COMMUNIQUEES SINCE IRELAND IS NOT A MEMBER OF NATO AND THE "EEC PRESENTLY LACKS SUFFICIENT COHESION TO ENLARGE ITS SCOPE TO DEFENSE MATTERS". MORE FUNDAMENTALLY, THEY ACKNOWLEDGED, THE TWO COMMUNIQUE APPROACH ALSO COULD AVOID "GLOBALIZATION" OF THE ISSUES. IN ANY CASE, THE GERMANS HOPE THE SEPT 10-11 MINISTERS MEETING WILL HAVE DRAFT TEXTS OR AT LEAST LIST OF GUIDELINES OR SUBJECTS AS WORKING BASIS. SOURCES ADDED THAT IT MIGHT BE BEST FOR EC-NINE TO FOCUS ON COMMUNIQUE OF PRESIDENT'S MEETING WITH EEC, WITH NATO COUNCIL THEREAFTER DEVELOPING COMMUNIQUE FOR PRESIDENT'S MEETING WITH NAC MINISTERS.

6. SOURCES SAID POLITICAL DIRECTORS HAD BEEN ASKED TO SUGGEST APPROPRIATE FORMAT AND LEVEL OF EUROPEAN REPRESENTATION FOR PRESIDENT'S MULTILATERAL MEETINGS IN EUROPE. THEY SAID THAT WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THE GERMANS, THERE WAS GENERALLY RESTRAINED REACTION TO CONCEPT OF ATLANTIC SUMMIT OF FIFTEEN PLUS IRELAND. SINCE NINE ARE GENERALLY COOL TO NOTION OF CSCE SUMMIT, THAT PROSPECT DID NOT PERSUADE MANY MINISTERS OF THE NEED FOR AN ATLANTIC SUMMIT. WE ARE TOLD JOBERT OPPOSED ANY TENDENCY TO "MERGE" EC AND NATO IDENTITIES AND ALSO SAID CSCE SUMMIT COULD ONLY RESULT FROM SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS IN DETENTE, WHICH HE

SAID COULD THEN BE "CONTRADICTED" BY NATO SUMMIT.

7. SOURCES SAID THE GERMANS AND SEVERAL OTHER EC-NINE
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MEMBER STATES THEREFORE FAVORED THE PRESIDENT MEETING
IN THE NATO COUNCIL WITH THE FOREIGN AND DEFENSE
MINISTERS OF THE FIFTEEN AND IN THE EEC WITH THE NINE
FOREIGN MINISTERS AS WELL AS THE PRESIDENTS OF THE EC
COUNCIL AND COMMISSION. SOURCES ACKNOWLEDGED THAT
FRENCH PREFER EEC TO BE REPRESENTED BY ONLY PRESIDENTS
OF COUNCIL AND COMMISSION; THEY NOTED THAT PRESENCE OF
FRENCH DEFENSE MINISTER IN NATO COUNCIL ALSO COULD

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PRESENT A PROBLEM.

8. EMBOFF INQUIRED OF FONOFF OFFICIAL OF THE POSSIBLE MEANING OF "EUROPEAN IDENTITY". FONOFF REP SAID THIS TERM COULD MEAN THAT, ON A CERTAIN NUMBER OF SUBJECTS, THE EUROPEANS HAD ATTAINED AN IDENTITY OF VIEWS WHICH COULD BE REFLECTED IN AN UNDERSTANDING WITH THE US.

9. IN CLOSING, OUR SOURCES ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE PROSPECT OF SIMPLE DRAFT COMMUNIQUE WAS NOT AS ATTRACTIVE AS THE EARLIER US WISH FOR A NEW ATLANTIC CHARTER OR EVEN THE STRONG GERMAN DESIRE FOR A DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES. NONETHELESS, SOURCES POINTED OUT THAT JULY 23 MINISTERS MEETING HAD BEEN AN
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EXTRAORDINARY AND UNSCHEDULED SESSION WHICH TESTIFIED TO THE IMPORTANCE WHICH EUROPEANS ATTACHED TO ATLANTIC CONNECTION. W-HILE THE MEETING, AND PARTICULARLY THE FRENCH, HAD BEEN VERY DIFFICULT, THE GERMANS CONSIDERED ITS RESULTS TO BE "MORE SATISFACTORY THAN UNSATISFACTORY"; THE MEETING HAD KEPT OPEN THE DIALOGUE AND TRIGGERED NEW EFFORTS AT DRAFTING COMMUNIQUE TEXTS. FURTHER, THE POSSIBILITY OF A DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES SUBSEQUENT TO THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT, AS PART OF A CONTINUING US/EUROPEAN DIALOGUE, HAD NOT BEEN FORECLOSED. AND THE IMPORTANCE OF "CONSTRUCTIVE DIALOGUE" WITH US HAD BEEN STRONGLY REAFFIRMED. WHILE ALL THIS FALLS FAR SHORT OF ORIGINAL GOALS, AND WHILE THE FINAL SCENARIO FOR PRESIDENT NIXON'S VISIT REMAINS UNCLEAR, FONOFF OFFICIALS SAID THE GERMANS WOULD DO THEIR BEST IN THE NEXT WEEKS TO BEEF UP SUBSTANCE OF COMMUNIQUE AND PROMISE OF CONTINUED WORK ON DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES.

10. AS A FOOTNOTE, ONE SOURCE NOTED THAT MINISTERS HAD APPROVED SECOND DAVIGNON REPORT, INCLUDING SECTION ON EC/PC INTERACTION (BONN 9817); JOBERT REPORTEDLY SAID "I APPROVE WITH SADNESS". CHIEFS OF GOVERNMENT HAVE BEEN ASKED TO GIVE FORMAL APPROBATION BY AUG 15, AND DANES WILL THEN RELEASE REPORT TO PUBLIC.
HILLENBRAND

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